

**INSIDE: WINNERS OF THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS**

# **Dateline**

**2008  
SPECIAL  
EDITION**

## **COVERING PAKISTAN**

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*Photo by John Moore/Getty Images*



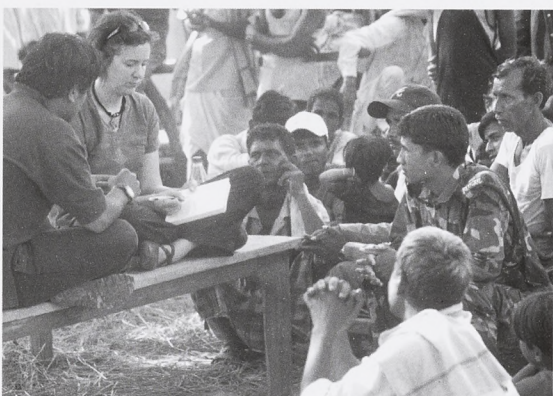
# On the ground, reporting from around the world



EVAN OSNOS, on the road in China's Sichuan province.



ALEX RODRIGUEZ interviews migrant workers in Russia.



KIM BARKER with Maoist insurgents in Nepal.



PAUL SALOPEK playing a game with children in Djibouti.

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COVER: Journalists protest a crackdown on the media by the Musharraf government in November.

PHOTO BY REUTERS/ASIM TANVEER/LANDOV

PHOTO OPPOSITE: Supporters of Benazir Bhutto mourn in the wake of her assassination.

PHOTO BY JOHN MOORE/GETTY IMAGES

The Overseas Press Club wishes to thank *The Columbia Journalism Review* and its editor, Mike Hoyt, for donating staff and facilities for the production of *Dateline*.

We also thank the following agencies and individuals who donated images for use in *Dateline*: AFP, Associated Press, Corbis, Getty, Landov, MCT, Monuc, Panos, Reuters, SIPA, Xinhua; Shakeel Adil, Adnan Ali, David Bathgate, K.M. Chaudry, Ng Han Goan, Athar Hussain, Tim Johnson, Zia Mazhar, Emilio Morenatti, John Moore, Singhatullah Mughal, Farooq Naem, Moises Saman, Asim Tanyer, Sergey Ponomarev, Vincent Yu.

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Address: OPC, 40 West 45 Street, New York, N.Y. 10036 U.S.A.

Phone: (212) 626-9220 Fax: (212) 626-9210 Website: [www.opcofamerica.org](http://www.opcofamerica.org)

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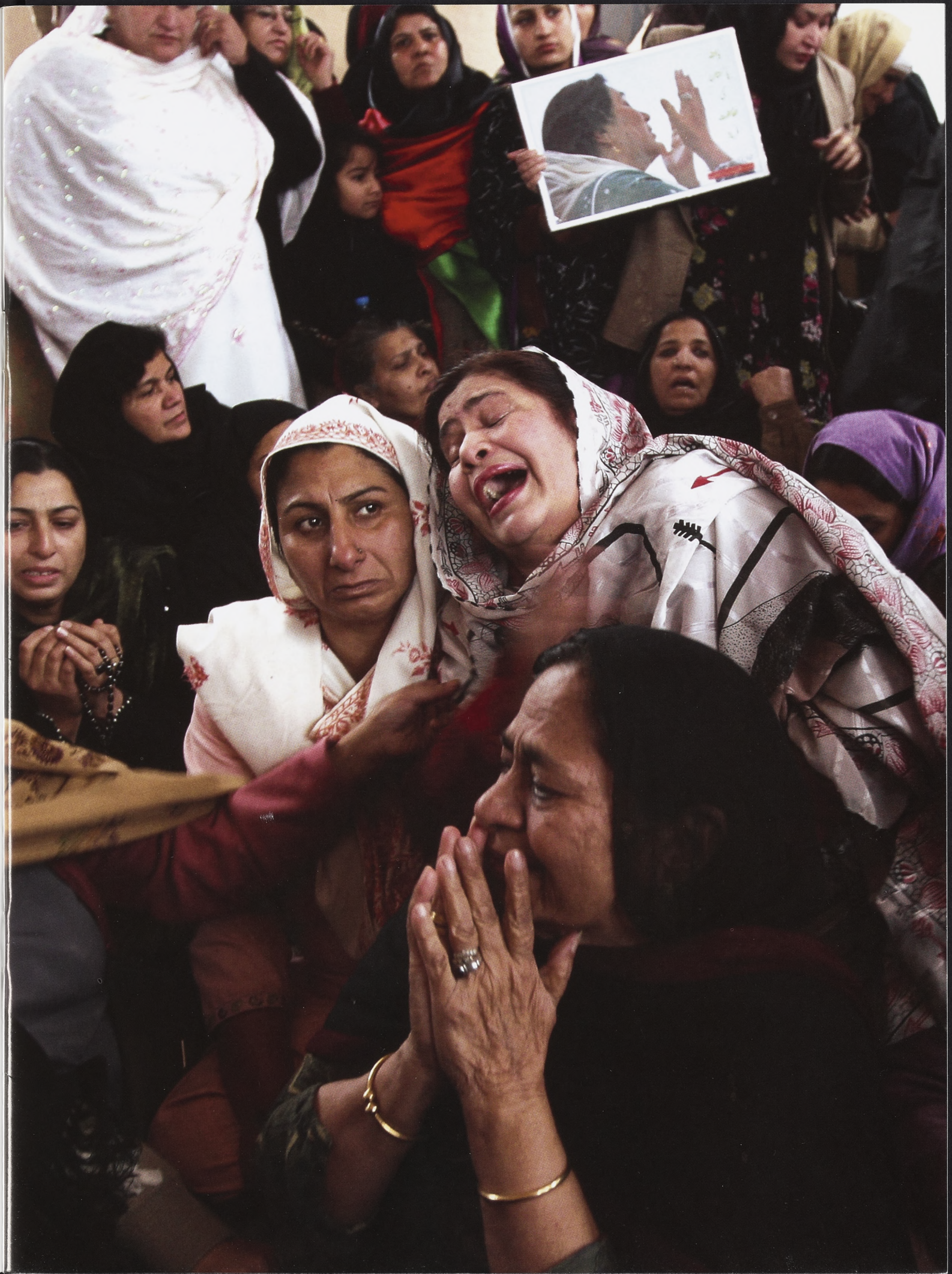


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## LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

Given the tough financial times the media have been struggling with this past year—editorial staffs eviscerated, foreign bureaus shuttered, staffers and stringers abroad sacked—it's remarkable how much the Overseas Press Club has to cheer about from the viewpoint of quality and professionalism.

Journalism at its very best has never been better than right now—and if you want still more tangible evidence of that reality, just leaf through this annual copy of OPC's *Dateline* magazine with its impressive array of award-winning international stories and photography produced during 2007. What you will find are examples aplenty of memorable work done by journalists in many parts of the world every day, often under fire of live ammunition, almost always under severe deadline pressure, frequently under threats from trigger-happy local authorities.

Alas, the price of all this is that far too many of our colleagues are victims of violence. According to the Commit-



Loeb with Dwight Eisenhower in Germany.

tee to Protect Journalists, last year 65 journalists were killed on the job, the greatest number of them in Iraq (32). Hundreds more were wounded, kidnapped or missing.

There are still other dangers. In many corners of the world, reporters, photographers and editors are jailed on trumped up charges, often beaten and

tortured and otherwise harassed by cruel governments, furious over any revealed truths that upset them. Last year our very active Freedom of the Press Committee sent 76 carefully researched letters to authorities in countries from China to Sri Lanka to Russia, as well as the United States, pointing out abuses.

Amid these worst-of-times-best-of-times cross-currents, what is most encouraging to me is the high quality of the young people entering our field. For several years now, I've been impressed that so many OPC Award winners are relative newcomers to our field. If one is looking for inspiration, you need only go to the OPC Foundation's Scholarship Luncheon and listen to the bright young people looking forward to careers as foreign correspondents. For all our problems, when it comes to learning about the world, and perhaps even contributing to improving it, it's hard to beat journalism.

**Marshall Loeb**  
President, Overseas Press Club

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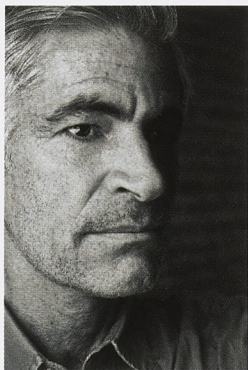
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## JAMES NACHTWEY

RECIPIENT, 2008 OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB PRESIDENT'S AWARD



The message above is James Nachtwey's statement to the world on the opening page of his Website. There are few major conflicts to which the photographer has not been a witness. Starting in Northern Ireland in 1981, Nachtwey has traveled the globe as the world's premier war photographer. His stark, tragic images span every major conflict since then, including the wars in the Middle East, the former Yugoslavia, Africa, Chechnya and Iraq. He was in New York on September 11, 2001, and his photos of the destruction of the World Trade Center are among the most powerful of the thousands of images produced by that disaster. A contract photographer for *Time* since 1984, Nachtwey has won the Overseas Press Club's Robert Capa Gold Medal—for photography from abroad requiring exceptional courage—an unprecedented five times. In 2003 he was severely injured when a terrorist threw a grenade into the military vehicle in which he was riding in Iraq.

In recognition of his unsurpassed contribution to international journalism, the OPC chooses Nachtwey as the 2008 recipient of its President's Award. ■



Nachtwey has been there with his camera at almost every major international news event of the past 25 years. Above, ground zero on 9/11. Below, the West Bank, 2000. Right, a woman cares for her sick child in West Darfur, Sudan, 2004.









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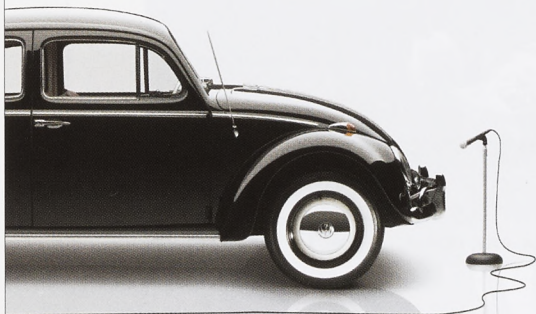
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 **CBS NEWS**



# PERILOUS ROADS

Covering the war in the frontier regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan presents formidable challenges—not least of which is overcoming some dangerous preconceptions.

BY KATHY GANNON



Gannon and her AP colleague Riaz Khan meet with a Taliban leader on the Pakistan border seeking permission to travel to Afghanistan. AP PHOTO/DIMITRI MESSINIS



The polls hadn't opened yet for Pakistan's February elections when we set out for Charsadda in the Northwest Frontier province—me and my AP colleague Riaz Khan. We decided to go to the exact spot where just a few weeks earlier a suicide bomber had killed 52 people.

Riaz is a Pathan, a brave and accomplished journalist. Yet he wanted to sidestep the polling station, go a little further on down the road to one a little less dangerous. "Believe me this is the most dangerous place in the frontier outside of the tribal areas," he said.

But we went.

Protected by a phalanx of security men, the local candidate and past the target of a suicide bombing, Sikander Sherpao, had just voted. We arrived as he was leaving. We tried to stop him but his cavalcade was kicking up dust as it sped away. He and his people were frightened that behind every face, every vehicle, lurked a suicide bomber.

It reminded me of a conversation a Canadian general in Afghanistan's southern Kandahar province said he had with his troops before they headed out on patrol. Kandahar was the seat of power of the Taliban that ruled Afghanistan until they were driven out by the U.S. in 2002. To his soldiers the Canadian general said: "There are about 50,000 vehicles on the roads in Kandahar and maybe, just maybe, three or four are suicide bombers. But if we treat the other 49,997 like they are all suicide bombers then we have lost the war."

Presumably he meant the war to win hearts and minds. Journalists also are in a war in both Afghanistan and Pakistan—the one we wage in trying to figure out how to cover a story where the country and the people we are to cover are often seen with fear and mistrust.

I have been trying to overcome those obstacles since I first began working as a journalist in the region in 1986. I was reporting from Afghanistan long before the Taliban arrived. I was in Kabul when they overthrew the violence-wracked government of mujahedeen leaders whose bitter battles for power killed 50,000 of their



Bodyguards accompany parliamentary candidate Sikander Sherpao to the polls in the Northwest Frontier Province town of Charsadda in February elections. AP PHOTO/EMILIO MORENATTI

own people and devastated the capital of Kabul. The Taliban took power from them in September 1996. I was there regularly throughout the Taliban rule, when they destroyed the statues of Buddha, when they celebrated their victories in northern Mazar-e-Sharif, when they were routed and more than 2,000 were slaughtered. And I was there again a year later when they took power in Mazar-e-Sharif and carried out a slaughter of their own.

The AP's biggest leap of faith in my abilities as a reporter—and my capacity to avoid getting killed—came when the Tal-

iban said I could return to Kabul during the last three weeks of blistering U.S. bombings in and around the capital that eventually drove them out. I was the only western journalist allowed back in. It happened for several reasons, the biggest being the intervention of Amir Shah, our AP colleague in Kabul, whose amazing bravery and ability to make friends with whomever is in power meant the Taliban knew him and trusted him.

Shah is not Pashtun like the Taliban. He is a Hazara, the Afghan ethnic group that always seems to be targeted no



A man grieves at the funeral of a relative after 52 were killed in a February 10 bombing in Charsadda. AP PHOTO/EMILIO MORENATTI





'Journalists are in a war of their own in both Afghanistan and Pakistan, trying to figure out how to cover a story where the country and the people they are to cover are often seen with fear and mistrust.'

Along the border of Afghanistan and Pakistan, known as Checkpoint Delta, a strange mixture of normalcy and anarchy, peace and violence remains.

DAVID BATHGATE/CORBIS

matter who is in power. And I got in also because the Taliban had seen me for years. I met them on the frontlines before they got to Kabul. I sat outside their office doors until they agreed to see me—a woman. Like one Taliban who I often argued with said: "We have a name for people like you... a man."

Today, both Pakistan and Afghanistan provide a strange mix of normalcy and anarchy; peace and violence; warm, welcoming hospitality and violent ferocious assaults. I guess for me the trick to covering the two countries is to understand the mix, and where the majority in each country fits in to the mix. Why? Because if we don't we end up spewing out clichés, traveling with security guards at our side, traveling only with the military as embeds and being restricted by fear to big cities.

But it's a fine and often difficult balance. There are no guidelines that offer everything: security, solid coverage and peace of mind for both the companies who worry about the safety of their journalists and the journalists themselves.

Yet sometimes it's important to chal-





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Troops of Pakistan's army display arms and ammunition captured from militants in Spinkai near the Afghan border in South Waziristan.  
AP PHOTO/SINGHATULLAH MUGHAL

lenge your own fears, lest you become hostage to them. I tried to put that theory into practice last year with a road trip that began in Quetta in Pakistan's southwestern Baluchistan province. It took us to southern Kandahar, and beyond to Panjwai, which is also in Kandahar province and where NATO forces had earlier finished an operation.

I was working on a story about the Taliban inroads into the southern regions and of the Afghan government's lack of authority outside of Kabul.

From Panjwai the road trip took us north from Kandahar to Kabul on a brand spanking new road that is often used to commend development in Afghanistan, but which even Afghans are afraid to use.

There's a reason for that. On the day we took it there weren't many people on the road except, of course, for three different makeshift checkpoints with men waving guns for us to stop. We didn't. Security in Afghanistan is so bad today that if the Taliban doesn't get you, the thieves, many of whom are also police

and Afghan soldiers, will. And then they will sell you to the Taliban.

From Kabul we headed east to Jalalabad and on to the Pakistani border town of Torkham, at the foot of the Khyber Pass, romanticized by Kipling and trampled over by invading hordes and fleeing would-be conquerors.

The road trip took a week but it was a real eye opener. It showed how difficult our job had become, how the NATO militaries were relied upon for safety, how embedded journalism had come to dominate coverage because of the real dangers of stepping out alone, of the nagging worry that out there, anywhere, everywhere was lurking someone who wanted to kill you.

In Panjwai we mixed it up with villagers who screamed abuses at us because foreign troops had bombed them in their hunt for Taliban guerrillas and then returned a day later to offer them a few bags of flour. Homes had been bulldozed by soldiers to build a road. A well that one young man had dug for his family was now inside the prime-

ter of a base. He couldn't access it, at least not without getting shot. His home was gone and he lived in a tent.

Another young man who had lost his whole family in an errant bombing raid said: "I wasn't with the government and I wasn't with the Taliban. But now I am Talib."

The same villagers would have greeted a military patrol very differently. They would be docile in front of the foreign soldiers, fearing they would be labeled Taliban. While they might voice a complaint or two, they would seem satisfied with their compensation and promise of aid. The result for us reporters would be two different stories from the same locality.

Covering Pakistan has its own set of difficulties, its own set of problems. The government restricts movement, often giving visas that are limited to three main cities, citing security worries. Like so many things in Pakistan, the rules are contradictory because then the government defies western journalists to go anywhere so they can see that the stories of insecurity are unjustified and exaggerated.





An Afghan man waits while the vehicle he is riding in is searched at Checkpoint Delta, a joint US Army and Afghan Border Police security outpost on the Afghan border with Pakistan. DAVID BATHGATE/CORBIS

They aren't of course. Not in the frontier regions and increasingly not in the cities and towns of Pakistan, where suicide bombers strike with frightening regularity. Security worries and restrictions combine to keep reporters out of vast regions of Pakistan.

Three years ago in Bannu, a bustling little city near the Afghan border, people with cinemas and CD shops were complaining about threats and harassment from pro-Taliban militias. They tried to resist, spoke out against them. But reporters couldn't safely travel to the region, and the result was a misconception that everyone there was a Taliban sympathizer.

Thus it was a surprise when Febru-

ary election results showed the most popular party was the one that had supported the invading Soviet Union against Washington's 1980's heroes, the Afghan mujahedeen, the same people who have been returned to power and are again creating the anarchy, lawlessness and drug dealing that led to the Taliban rise back in 1994.

Add to the difficulties of reporting in Pakistan the relentless presence of Pakistani intelligence officers who always seem to be close at hand.

Even on Election Day the intelligence men were on the job. En route to Charsadda we stopped to ask directions to a small community. Instead of us asking the questions we were sud-

denly being asked the questions by local intelligence operatives: "Where are you going? Who are you seeing? Why are you here? It's very dangerous."

The good news is that the intelligence guys can often be distracted, sent in another direction. The bad news is that covering the two countries, Pakistan and Afghanistan, is increasingly perilous. And truth, like in so many conflicts in the past, is becoming a victim. ■

*Kathy Gannon has lived in the Pakistan-Afghanistan region for two decades. She has been a reporter for the Associated Press, first as a freelance and later as a staff member, since 1986.*

**'The government defies western journalists to go anywhere to see that the stories of insecurity are unjustified and exaggerated. They aren't, not in the frontier regions and increasingly not in the cities and towns of Pakistan where suicide bombers strike with frightening regularity.'**



# ANATOMY OF A MURDER

It's been six years since *The Wall Street Journal's* Daniel Pearl was kidnapped and murdered in Pakistan. Today most of the dozen men who carried out the crime are in prison or dead.

BY STEVE LEVINE

Government prosecutor Raja Qureshi speaks to reporters in 2002 after a judge convicted four Islamic militants of the kidnap-murder of *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl. AP PHOTO/VINCENT YU





Six years ago, on January 22, 2002, *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl, 38 years old, arrived in the southern Pakistani port of Karachi to interview a reclusive Islamic leader whom he intended to profile for a story on terrorism. Instead, the following day, he was abducted. Four months later, a Pakistani man linked to a militant group led police to Pearl's body, which was buried in a nursery on the outskirts of Karachi.

Pearl had been the victim of an elaborate set up. The men with whom he had arranged the interview during the two weeks preceding his kidnapping—he first met them face-to-face in the city of Rawalpindi, and then worked out details through emails and phone calls—were using aliases, and had no link to the man Pearl sought to interview, a cleric named Sheikh Mubarak Ali Gilani. Instead, they were affiliated with anti-western militants, and would later tell authorities they decided to

kidnap Pearl because he was an available American target. The country's leader, Gen. Pervez Musharraf, had recently been cracking down on these militant groups at the behest of the U.S.

The Pakistani police, with technical assistance from the U.S. Federal Bureau of Investigation, largely solved the crime. More than a dozen men participated in the plot. Some are dead—killed in firefights with the police in connection with this and other crimes—some are serving prison sentences, and some are in jail but haven't been charged.

Here are brief profiles of the main figures in the kidnapping and murder.



ABOVE: Omar Saeed leaves the provincial high court in Karachi under heavy security after his conviction. His execution has been repeatedly postponed. AP PHOTO/ZIA MAZHAR

BELOW: Pakistani police officers escort Hashim Qadir, hooded, to court in 2005. AP PHOTO/ADNAN ALI







Two suspects are escorted from a Karachi police station in 2002 after their arrest in the Pearl murder. AP PHOTO/ZIA MAZHAR

## AHMED OMAR SAEED SHEIKH

The mastermind of the Pearl kidnapping, Omar Saeed met with Pearl and Pearl's stringer for two hours at a hotel in Rawalpindi and, using the alias Chaudrey Bashir Ahmad Shabbir, persuaded Pearl that he was an intimate aide of the cleric Pearl was seeking to interview. In fact, the British-born Saeed did not know the man. Pearl and Saeed were in contact via email over the following 11 days, as Saeed coaxed and lured the correspondent into believing he could arrange an interview with the cleric. Saeed was simultaneously arranging for an Islamic militant named Amjad Farouki to carry out the kidnapping in Karachi.

Saeed was eventually captured, tried and sentenced to death in the case. He is in jail, and his appeal is pending.

## HASHIM QADIR

Qadir was a Karachi-based media contact for a militant Islamic group called Harkat-ul-Mujahedin. Through his stringer, Pearl contacted Qadir—who went by the alias "Arif"—and asked for an introduction to someone who knew

the cleric Gilani. It was Qadir who then put Pearl in contact with Saeed, who later told authorities he was looking for a kidnapping victim at the time. Qadir vanished soon after the abduction. Police initially tracked him down by tracing his cell phone. But he eluded capture until police found him in the Pakistani city of Gujranwala in July 2005. Authorities say he is in jail, though he has yet to be tried.

## SAEED'S THREE INITIAL COLLABORATORS: SALMAN SAQUIB, FAHAD NASIM, AND SHEIKH ADIL

These three men assisted in photographing Pearl while he was in captivity, scanning the photos, and then emailing them to news agencies. All

three were captured and sentenced to life in prison for their roles in the plot. All are appealing. The state prosecutors, meanwhile, are seeking to increase their sentences to death.

## AMJAD FAROUKI

Farouki arranged the actual kidnapping in Karachi. Pearl, believing he was being taken to his interview, rendezvoused at a prearranged location, the Village Restaurant in downtown Karachi. He was picked up by a driver and taken to a suburb of Karachi and detained. Later identified by other suspects in the case, Farouki narrowly escaped capture by the police after Pearl's death became public. Pakistani police say he and his group, called Harkat-ul-Jihad-e-Islami, subsequently twice attempted to assassinate

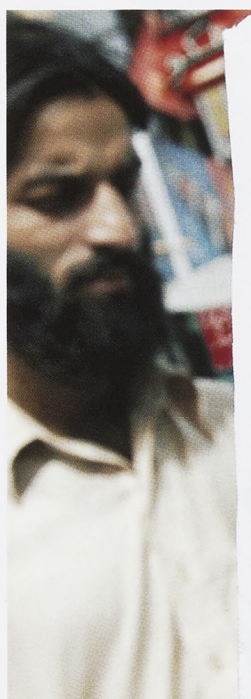
The men with whom he had arranged the interview during the two weeks preceding his kidnapping were using aliases, and had no link to the man Pearl sought to interview.



Gen. Musharraf and bombed the U.S. consulate in Karachi in 2002. Farouki, 32 years old, was killed in 2004 by Pakistani forces in the town of Nawabshah, 80 miles northeast of Karachi, according to Pakistani police.

#### SAUD MEMON

A 44-year-old cloth merchant, Memon played a key role in the logistics of the kidnapping. He owned the land and house where Pearl was kept by his captors. A Memon employee, Fazal Karim, helped guard Pearl. And Memon himself is alleged to have driven the killers to the property the day that Pearl was murdered. Pakistani security officials allege that Memon was a chief financier of Harkat-ul-Mujahedin, which supports al Qaeda. He disappeared after the murder. An investigation last year by *The Wall Street Journal* and human rights lawyers in Pakistan determined that he had been detained by unidentified American forces first in South



A Pakistani newspaper announces the death of Pearl kidnapper Amjad Farouki, inset, killed in 2004 in a two-hour gun battle with police.

FAROOQ NAEEM/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; INSET: AP PHOTO

Forbes®





The concrete shed on the grounds of the nursery where Pearl was held.

AP PHOTO/SHAKEEL ADIL

Africa and then possibly elsewhere, before being turned over to Pakistan. In the spring of 2007, he was found outside a relative's home in Karachi, incoherent and unable to walk. Relatives and human rights lawyers in Pakistan say he had been tortured and weighed less than 100 pounds. He died shortly after from tuberculosis and meningitis.

## ASIF RAMZI

Ramzi was a key leader of the radical Islamic group Lashkar-i-Jhangvi, which was blamed for some of the most serious militant attacks in Pakistan in recent years. Ramzi was a principal member of the gang that took Pearl hostage in Karachi, according to Pakistani investigators. He also visited the compound where Pearl was detained several times, they say. Ramzi was killed in a warehouse explosion in Karachi in December 2002, according to the police.

## NAEEM BUKHARI, ZUBAIR CHISHTI, AND FAZAL KARIM

These three men participated in the physical kidnapping and detention of

Pearl in Karachi. They have been captured and are in jail but have not been charged. Some investigators involved in the case say these men and some other suspects haven't been officially charged in court because they may contradict evidence introduced to convict Saeed and his accomplices. It's widely believed that the authorities, while convinced of Saeed's and the other men's guilt, used shortcuts to achieve their convictions in what was a highly publicized and politically charged case.

Bukhari was a senior leader of the militant group Lashkar-i-Jhangvi and was wanted by the police in connection with several murders. On the night of his kidnapping, when Pearl was picked up outside the Village Restaurant, Bukhari rode ahead of the car on a motorcycle and led it to the nursery on the outskirts of Karachi, police say. Once at the compound, according to investigators, Bukhari pointed a pistol at Pearl and informed him he was a captive. Bukhari, police say, was in charge of the team holding Pearl captive.

Chishti, a member of Lashkar-i-

Jhangvi, was a guard at the compound.

Karim was an employee of Saud Memon. Nearly four months after the murder, he would lead police back to the nursery grounds and point out where Pearl was buried. He also told police he helped to kill Pearl, the authorities say.

## FUGITIVES

Three accomplices remain at large. One is Abdul Samat, who police say managed the guards during Pearl's detention. A second is a man known only by the name Mussadiq, who allegedly was one of the guards at the nursery. And a third, unidentified, was the driver who picked up Pearl at the Village Restaurant.

## KHALID SHEIKH MOHAMMED

Also still unknown are the identities of three Arabic-speaking men that others who were arrested in the case said actually killed Pearl about a week into his captivity, with at least one of the guards assisting. These men, driven to the compound by Memon, appeared on the final day of Pearl's detention. Bush administration officials say the leader was Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, the operations chief for al Qaeda and the mastermind of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attack against the U.S. But the White House has not provided corroborating evidence of this claim apart from a confession to this and other crimes Mohammed gave while in U.S. detention. Mohammed was captured in Pakistan in March 2003 and is scheduled for trial at the U.S. prison facility in Guantanamo Bay. ■

*Steve LeVine, who worked with Pearl at The Wall Street Journal, and followed the investigation of his murder for the paper, is currently on leave writing a book about Russia called Putin's Labyrinth.*

# Saeed and other anti-western militants decided to kidnap Pearl because he was an available American target.





Chelatenango, El Salvador: Imprisoned members of the MS13 street gang.  
Moises Saman's photos won an Olivier Rebbot Citation for Excellence

MOISES SAMAN: PANOS FOR NEWSWEEK

## THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA ANNUAL AWARDS

**KATHLEEN HUNT, CHAIR, AWARDS COMMITTEE**

**A**s always with the Overseas Press Club awards, the map of world conflict is a predictor of where the winning journalists find their inspiration. This year the list includes all the countries where tumult and controversy reign: Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, the Congo, China. Two of our four photography awards recount the shocking attacks on former Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, while two others deal with death in the Congo—in the human civil war, and a war against endangered mountain gorillas. A half dozen awards go to reporters in Iraq and Afghanistan, including one to the

book that tells the story behind Curveball, "the con man who caused a war."

Congratulations to all of our winners, and thanks to the award sponsors and the judges who devoted so many hours to reading, viewing and listening to the entries. And we would be remiss in not giving a special round of applause to two news organizations whose dedication to quality international journalism will be plain on the following pages: Getty Images, whose photographers are winners in three photo categories, and *The New York Times*, recipient this year of six Overseas Press Club awards. ■



**Dateline**



## **THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL AWARD**

**JOHN MOORE**

Getty Images

'The Assassination of Benazir Bhutto'







It was December 27. Getty Images Senior Staff Photographer John Moore was attending a Benazir Bhutto campaign rally in Rawalpindi. He was surprised to see former—and many thought future—Pakistani Prime Minister Bhutto emerge from the sunroof of her vehicle and ran up to take photos of her waving to the crowd. "Suddenly, there were a few gunshots that rang out, and she went down, she went down through the sunroof," Moore told CNN hours after Bhutto's assassination. "And just at that moment I raised my camera up and the blast (pictured at left) happened. ... And then, of course, there was chaos."





# Dateline

## 1. THE HAL BOYLE AWARD

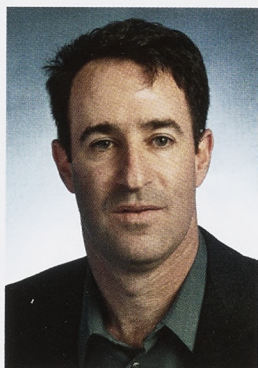
Best newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad

### STEVE FAINARU

*The Washington Post*

"The Private Armies of Iraq"

"The Private Armies of Iraq" is a groundbreaking exposé of private security firms in Iraq, written months before the Blackwater scandal found guards from one of the largest security firms opening fire on Iraqi civilians. In a deeply reported, riveting narrative, Fainaru shines a penetrating light on a murky world. The OPC salutes the achievement of a single reporter tackling one of the most important stories of the year.



### CITATION

#### BAGHDAD BUREAU

*The New York Times*

"Iraq: Tour of Duty"

## 2. THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

Best newspaper or wire service interpretation of international affairs

# THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

### PAUL BECKETT, ERIC BELLMAN, KRISHNA POKHAREL, YAROSLAV TROFIMOV, PETER WONACOTT

*The Wall Street Journal*

"India's Great Leap Upward"

That India's economy is growing exponentially is well known. What *The Wall Street Journal* staff writers analyze is the impact of that growth story. Sudden strong demand for educated workers is breaking ancient caste barriers. Even Dalits, or untouchables, can now dream of the middle class life. The articles document the complexity of discrimination in rural India, the entrenched impunity of local corrupt legislators charged with fixing public education, and the new aspirations of the poorest as they clash with the powerful interests of the moneyed elite. How India's democracy copes with both the demands of new wealth and worsening poverty for those left behind will keep the world watching keenly.

### CITATION

#### TRUDY RUBIN

*Philadelphia Inquirer*

"Worldview"

## 3. THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL AWARD

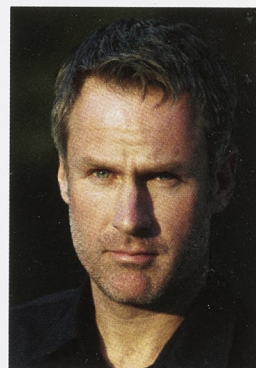
Best published photographic reporting from abroad requiring exceptional courage and enterprise

### JOHN MOORE

Getty Images

"The Assassination of Benazir Bhutto"

John Moore withstood the deadly chaos of a suicide bombing attack that killed Benazir Bhutto to record the last moments of the politician's life. During the attack and the ensuing pandemonium, Moore courageously photographed the violence and shattered hopes of those looking toward the restoration of democracy in Pakistan. In the spirit of Robert Capa, Moore captured the frenzied moments of the assassination and its deadly aftermath to bear witness to a significant historical moment.



## 4. THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

Best photographic reporting from abroad in magazines or books

### CÉDRIC GERBEHAYE

Agence Vu - *Newsweek*

"Congo in Limbo"

Cédric Gerbehaye's work opens a window on the deadliest place on earth, the Democratic Republic of Congo, where some 5 million people have died as a result of conflict since 1998. Rebels, foreign armed groups, and the Congolese army all have been responsible for murder, rape, and looting. His images of fear, exhaustion, and terrible resignation are tangible evidence of the peril that literally consumes people in the region. Through Gerbehaye's eyes we see the singular faces of the smallest of children, abducted and robbed of their future by commanders seeking new "recruits" for war. A barefoot man stands in an overcoat in a puddle-ridden camp for the displaced. The image of renegade general Laurent Nkunda, at-large and wanted for war crimes and crimes against humanity, is unforgettable, his bravado a symbol of the near total impunity with which those in power operate.



### CITATION

#### MOISES SAMAN

Panos for *Newsweek*

"Gang Warfare"



## 5. THE JOHN FABER AWARD

Best photographic reporting from abroad in newspapers or wire services

### PAULA BRONSTEIN

Getty Images

"Death in Karachi"

Paula Bronstein's images focus on the victims of the attack on Benazir Bhutto in Karachi, Pakistan in October, 2008. They powerfully document human vulnerability in a world shattered by the now familiar deadly destruction of suicide bombing.



### CITATION

Tyler Hicks

*The New York Times*

"Chasing the Taliban"

## 6. FEATURE PHOTOGRAPHY AWARD

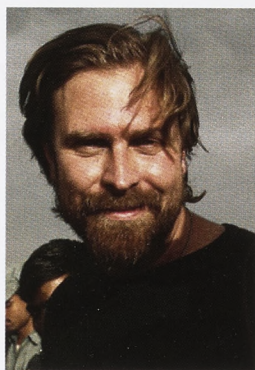
Best feature photography published in any medium on an international theme

### BRENT STIRTON

Getty Images for *Newsweek*

"Slaughter in the Jungle"

Brent Stirton's pictures record the killings of gorillas in the Virunga National Park in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and are riveting visual documents of how the natural world has also suffered in a conflict that has claimed millions of human victims.



### CITATION

CHERYL DIAZ MEYER

*The Dallas Morning News*

"Self Immolation: Escape by Fire"

## 7. THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Best radio news or interpretation of international affairs

### MARY KAY MAGISTAD, JENNIFER GOREN, TRACI TONG

PRI's *The World*

"Young China"

The judges felt that this entry stood out for the depth and breadth of its reporting on a complex topic. A seven-part series on the effects of China's one-child policy, it offers a comprehensive look at the impact on Chinese society as the 100 million people born since the implementation of the program start to come of age. Magistad and Goren move beyond the mere social impact of this social-engineering legislation to look at attitudes toward sex, religion and business. Making effective use of the opportunities offered by their



medium, they offer a fascinating and educational look at the forces that not only have shaped modern China, but at those that will continue to do so.

## 8. THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Best TV spot news reporting from abroad

### TIM HETHERINGTON, SEBASTIAN JUNGER, BRIAN ROSS, STEVEN BAKER, MADELEINE SAUER, KAREN BRENNER

ABC News—Nightline

"The Other War"

Spending time with the soldiers of Battle Company, 173rd U.S. Airborne, as they lived—and died—in the Korengal Valley in eastern Afghanistan, freelance photographer Tim Hetherington gives viewers a gutsy, poignant view of what American troops face in "The Other War." Hetherington and Junger traveled with a platoon of soldiers in one of the war's most dangerous combat arenas. His camera work and his team's elegant writing and editing provided a dramatic view of what the U.S. is facing in the struggle against the Taliban and foreign Jihadi militants. As Hetherington observed operation "Rock Avalanche," three U.S. soldiers died and eight were wounded in close combat. They also accompanied soldiers into the midst of angry villagers after an Apache helicopter attack killed Afghan civilians. Hetherington gives viewers a sense of the rarely seen enemy and the raw emotions of both civilians and soldiers. On one raid, Hetherington broke his ankle and had to walk four hours down a mountainside to reach safety. Their work displayed not only great personal courage but the power of great journalism.



### CITATION

JIM SCIUTTO, ANGUS HINES, TOM MURPHY

"Inside Myanmar"

ABC-World News Tonight





## THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

CÉDRIC GERBEHAYE

Agence Vu-Newsweek

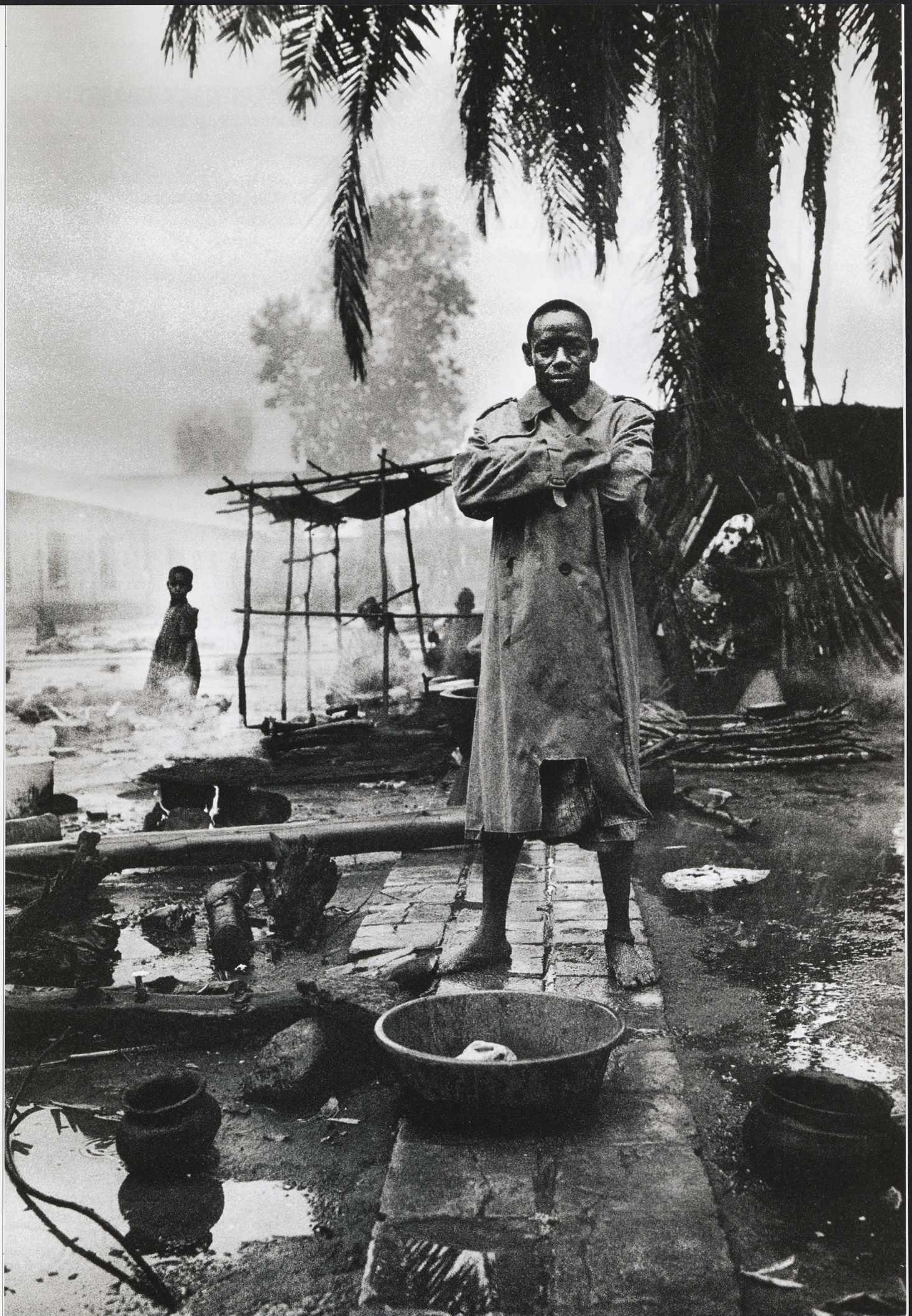
'Congo in Limbo'

Belgian photographer Gerbehaye traveled to civil-war torn North Kivu in the eastern Congo with the staff of Doctors Without Borders in June and September. Top, a training exercise for soldiers of a rebel group called the National Congress for the Defense of the People, which was fighting the government.

Left, a child soldier.

Right, some of thousands of refugees who had fled from the fighting.







# Dateline

## 9. THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

Best TV interpretation or documentary on international affairs

**MARIA HINOJOSA, AMY BUCHER, SIRIN AYSAN, MARY OLIVE SMITH, VIRGINIE DANGLADES, LESLEY NORMAN**

NOW on PBS

"Child Brides: Stolen Lives"



Hinojosa with Indian storyteller

Ambitious in a wholly different way than war or politics—and just as courageous—"Child Brides: Stolen Lives" does what the best international broadcast reporting is supposed to do: introduce us to a world we don't know through vivid imagery, compelling storytelling, and smart analysis. With both rare access and undercover reporting, Maria Hinojosa, Amy Bucher and the team at NOW traveled to three continents to document the lives of girls "engaged" as young as 3 years old, often to far older men, examining the practice's heart-rending consequences and the sometimes unlikely local leaders working to end it. Told with urgency, poignancy and objectivity, "Child Brides" is startling and important.

### CITATION

**CHRISTIANE AMANPOUR AND CNN PRODUCTIONS STAFF**

CNN Presents

"God's Warriors"

## 10. THE ED CUNNINGHAM AWARD

Best magazine reporting from abroad

**ANDREA ELLIOTT**

*The New York Times Magazine*

"Where Boys Grow Up To Be Jihadis"

Andrea Elliott spent weeks in a Moroccan town talking with friends, relatives and neighbors of five young men who left as Jihadis on suicide missions to Spain and Iraq. She records detailed accounts of their lives, despite initial suspicions and surveillance by Moroccan security forces. Her account, beautifully written, provides an unparalleled look into the making of terrorists and is a reporting tour de force. With great insight the reporter illustrates that terrorist motives are complex. Multiple forces are at work: the role of the mosques and their clergy, unemployment, limited opportunity and desire for revenge as an outgrowth of U.S. occupation of Iraq.



### CITATION

**BRYAN MEALER**

*Harper's Magazine*

"The River is a Road"

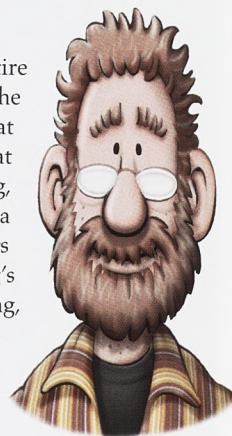
## 11. THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

Best cartoons on international affairs

**CLAY BENNETT**

*The Christian Science Monitor*

The judges felt that Clay Bennett's entire portfolio of work was extremely strong. The most arresting cartoon does what all great cartoons do: make you laugh and groan at the same time. It is of a plump, smiling frog, covered with four lipstick kisses, wearing a crown. The cartoon has no caption, and bears only one word, emblazoned on the frog's crown: IRAQ. What an efficient, devastating, and clever way to describe the world's desperate attempts to encourage Iraq—and Iraqis—to turn into a prince.



### CITATION

**MIKE LUCKOVICH**

*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*

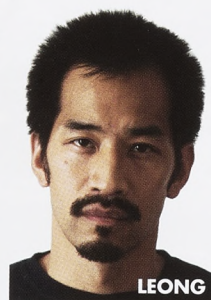
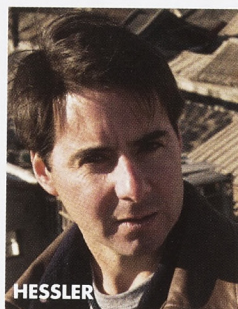
## 12. THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in magazines

**PETER HESSLER, MARK LEONG, OLIVER PAYNE, ELIZABETH KRIST, DAVID WHITMORE, CHRIS JOHNS**

*National Geographic*

"China's Instant Cities"



Hessler's 19 months of reporting and 10 trips to the new Chinese city of Lishui culminated in an original approach to the China story, producing a fascinating, richly-textured account of the transformation underway there. By focusing on the creation of a small factory that produced just one product—plastic rings for making bras—Hessler's selection of facts and anecdotes illuminated how ordinary Chinese people are trying to snare the riches up for grabs in this fast-growing economy.

### CITATIONS

**ROBEN FARZAD**

*BusinessWeek*

"Extreme Emerging Markets"

**QUENTIN HARDY**

*Forbes*

"Hope & Profit in Africa"



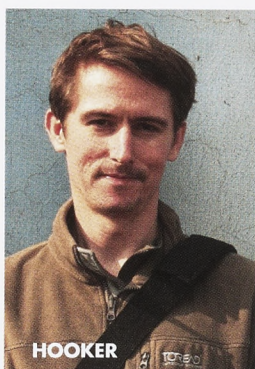
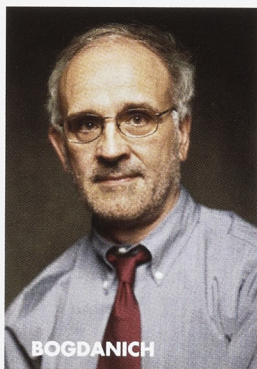
### 13. THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

Best business reporting from abroad in newspapers or wire services

**WALT BOGDANICH, JAKE HOOKER, ANDREW LEHREN, BRENT MCDONALD, ROBERT HARRIS**

*The New York Times*

"A Toxic Pipeline"



This series was an extraordinary combination of traditional gumshoe investigating and high tech innovation that resulted in a compelling, thorough and dramatic body of work that was clearly ahead of the curve of not only other journalistic organizations, but the governments of China and the United States. This team created a journalistic tour de force—from the Dashiell Hammett-like work of Jake Hooker, who traveled under assumed names and kept his notes under his mattress, to the dogged work of Walt Bogdanich in uncovering classified FDA documents that warned of problems with diethylene glycol, to the computer-assisted study that showed as many as 1,300 unlicensed companies selling pharmaceuticals. The series is a primer on how to do investigative journalism. The team worked with videojournalists to document the tragic toll that these counterfeit drugs took on innocent people, making this a truly multi-media series.

#### CITATION

**MICHAEL SMITH AND CARLOS CAMINADA**

*Bloomberg News*

"Ethanol's Deadly Brew"

### 14. THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Best non-fiction book on international affairs

**BOB DROGIN**

Random House

"Curveball: Spies, Lies, and the Con Man Who Caused a War"

How did the U.S. get it so wrong about weapons of mass destruction in Iraq? Bob Drogin, national security and intelligence reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, provides much of the answer in this anatomy of the CIA's drive to prove the existence of chemical weapons in



Saddam Hussein's Iraq. The central thread of Drogin's narrative—the story of an Iraqi refugee with a dubious story about mobile germ labs—illustrates the White House's grim determination to seize on any evidence, however flimsy, to justify the invasion. From there Drogin expands his cast of characters to include German spies, White House officialdom, the Iraqi resistance and the U.N. Along the way he uncovers a wealth of new detail about one of the worst intelligence failures in American history.

#### CITATION

**EDWARD LUCE**

Doubleday

"In Spite of the Gods: The Strange Rise of Modern India"

### 15. THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

Best international reporting in the print medium showing a concern for the human condition

**LYDIA POLGREEN**

*The New York Times*

"New Questions, New Answers in Africa"

West African bureau chief Lydia Polgreen captures the geo-political dimensions and daily grind of the continent's complex story and human drama as well as any reporter we have seen. Polgreen goes to all corners, known and far, near but remote. More often than not, she brings you there to taste the dust, hear the cries and even—in rare instances—share the triumphs. She gets to the essence of things with well-told stories about collapsing states and cultures. You can feel the anger as she gets to the sources responsible and puts the questions that have to be put. Polgreen discovers for us. She takes the return paths and the old paths, and brings new eyes to the old routes. And she confronts the villains and becomes the rod that expresses the questions those they oppress cannot fathom to ask except in their rare dreams of hope.



#### CITATIONS

**KEITH EPSTEIN AND GERI SMITH**

*BusinessWeek*

"The Ugly Side of Microlending"

**DANIEL MICHAELS**

*The Wall Street Journal*

"Nightmare in Nigeria"



# THE THOMAS NAST AWARD

CLAY BENNETT  
The Christian Science Monitor





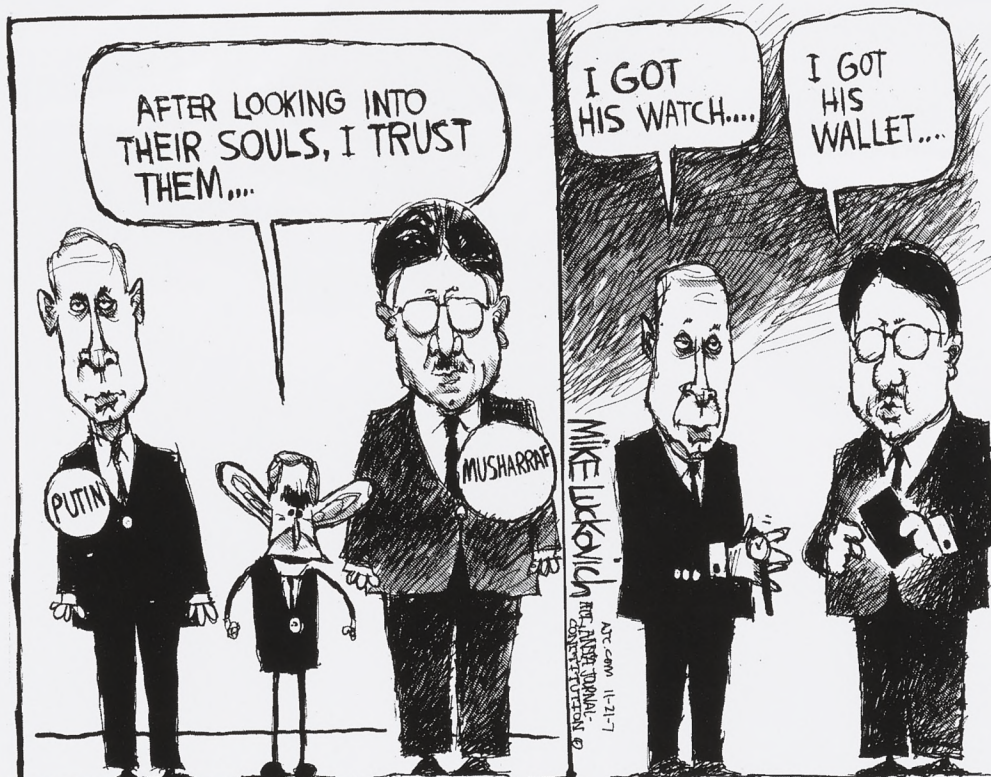


THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR *Bennett*

## THE THOMAS NAST CITATION

MIKE LUCKOVICH

The Atlanta Journal-Constitution





## THE JOHN FABER AWARD

PAULA BRONSTEIN

Getty Images  
'Death in Karachi'

Bronstein was present at both the October 19 suicide-bomb attempt on the life of Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto in Karachi, which killed 150 of her supporters, and the successful December 27 assassination in Rawalpindi. Below, a grieving family at the funeral of a loved one in Karachi. Right, top to bottom: a prayer vigil at Bhutto's home December 30; a Karachi victim is prepared for burial; an injured man is treated at a Karachi hospital.









**Dateline**

**FEATURE PHOTOGRAPHY AWARD**

**BRENT STIRTON**

Getty Images for Newsweek  
'Slaughter in the Jungle'







Stirton accompanied government Conservation Rangers into Virunga National Park in the eastern Congo to retrieve the bodies of four mountain gorillas shot to death by unknown assailants. The Rangers work with Wildlife Direct, a United Kingdom-based group, to try to guard the park's wildlife, which has been decimated by poachers. More than 100 Rangers have been killed in their efforts to protect the gorillas, one of the world's most endangered species.





# Dateline

## 16. THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

Best international reporting in the broadcast media showing a concern for the human condition

**NEIL DOCHERTY, LISA ELLENWOOD,  
DAVID FANNING, MICHAEL SULLIVAN**

WGBH-Boston/*Frontline*

in co-production with CBC Documentary Unit  
"On Our Watch"



DOCHERTY

Why did the world community allow the massacre of 200,000 Darfur Sudanese to go virtually unimpeded for four years? The reasons are vividly laid out in this masterful and compelling documentary. When United Nations intervention was forestalled by political ties between Sudan and China, it took grass-roots efforts by activists who threatened to rename the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games as the "Genocide Olympics" to finally break the diplomatic logjam. Each

step in that process is reported here with exceptional journalism and dramatic cinematography.

### CITATIONS

**ROBYN KRIEL**

KWTV-TV—Waco, Texas

"Zimbabwe Exposed"

**SCOTT PELLEY, SHAWN EFRAN, JEFF FAGER,  
SOLLY GRANATSTEIN**

CBS News—60 Minutes

"The Killings in Haditha."

## 17. THE JOE and LAURIE DINE AWARD

Best international reporting in any medium dealing with human rights

**JEFFREY GETTLEMAN, COURTENAY MORRIS,  
SHAYLA HARRIS, ADAM ELLICK**

*The New York Times*

"Ethiopia's Hidden War"



MORRIS

GETTLEMAN

*The New York Times* produced groundbreaking, courageous reporting of atrocities being committed by the Ethiopian military in its campaign to suppress a separatist movement. The reporters' insightful, powerful dispatches, produced at great personal risk, inspired readers in the developed world to care about distant places and people otherwise remote and invisible.

### CITATION

**JANE MAYER**

*The New Yorker*

"The Black Sites"

## 18. THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on international environmental issues

# The New York Times

**DAVID BARBOZA, KEITH BRADSHAW,  
HOWARD FRENCH, JOSEPH KAHN,  
MARK LANDLER, JIM YARDLEY, JIMMY WANG**

*The New York Times*

"Choking on Growth"

"Choking on Growth" is a meticulously reported exposé of the worst environmental ills of unbridled economic expansion in China and the damaging consequences both for the Chinese people and the wider world. *New York Times* correspondents fanned out across China to research and report the story in a 10-part series that made the most of the publication's online multimedia presence. Beautifully illustrated using compelling photography, videography and graphics, the series was aimed as much at a Chinese audience as at a U.S. domestic audience. Podcasts and transcripts of the series in Mandarin ensured a major impact for a story Chinese media are unable to report to the same degree.

### CITATION

**NPR NEWS STAFF**

National Public Radio

"Climate Connections"



## 19. ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD

Best reporting in any medium on Latin America

### The Miami Herald

#### THE MIAMI HERALD STAFF

*The Miami Herald*

"Coverage of the Venezuelan Referendum"

Keenly aware that last December's referendum to extend the powers of President Hugo Chavez would have repercussions far beyond Venezuela, *The Miami Herald* staff produced an eight-part series that helped readers appreciate the political and social context of the vote and to anticipate and absorb the stunning victory of the "No" vote. This series is an admirable blend of breaking news coverage, imaginative feature stories, and penetrating analysis of the complex reality of a society caught in the vortex of its leader's headlong pursuit of "21st Century socialism." A stirring (and balanced) portrait of the two leftist student leaders of pro-and anti-Chavez camps is particularly noteworthy, as are the insider reports on dissension within the ranks of the Venezuelan military and the mixed feelings toward Chavez among the poor. Marshalling its formidable journalistic resources devoted to Latin America, the *Herald* (and its sister publication *El Nuevo Herald*) covered the election from every angle, burnishing their established reputation for thorough and compelling coverage of the region.

#### CITATIONS

##### LOS ANGELES TIMES STAFF

"The Drug Trail"

##### JOSE DE CORDOBA

*The Wall Street Journal*

"Guerillas in the Mist"

## 20. WEBSITE AWARD

Best web coverage of international affairs

#### DAMIEN CAVE, DIANA OLIVA CAVE, BAGHDAD BUREAU and VIDEO, GRAPHICS and MULTIMEDIA STAFF

*The New York Times*

"Assessing the Surge: A Survey of Baghdad Neighborhoods"



In the midst of heated debate over the "surge" in Iraq by the American military, *The New York Times*, led by its Baghdad Bureau, created a comprehensive online guide to the sectarian violence plaguing various Baghdad neighborhoods. In reports that combined analysis, photo and video journalism, interactive maps and on-the-ground reporting, *The Times* brought clarity to an increasingly complicated story through the shifting realities in the Iraqi capital.

## 21. THE ARTYOM BOROVIK AWARD

For outstanding reporting by a Russian journalist who displays courage, insight, and independence of thought

#### ALEKSEI VENEDIKTOV

Ekho Moskvi

"Radio Reports on Politics and Culture"



Aleksei Venediktov is one of Russia's best known journalists and a staunch defender of free speech. He serves as editor-in-chief of the national radio station Echo of Moscow (Ekho Moskvi), and as the host of several of its programs. The station is one of the few in Russia that provides independent news and openly criticizes government officials and policy. Venediktov can often be heard on the air, posing the hard questions that few others dare to ask. Ekho Moskvi as an organization and Venediktov as a person represent everything that Artyom Borovik stood for in his short life—courage, boldness and the importance of questioning authority. Venediktov's Ekho Moskvi is and has always been one of the few shining points in the very dark world of Russian media.

#### CITATION

##### YELENA YEVGENYEVNA PENZINA

ORTV Krasnoyarsk

"Prostitution and Corruption in Krasnoyarsk"



## AWARD SPONSORS & JUDGES

### AT&T

#### HAL BOYLE AWARD

Barbara Rudolph, *The Deal*; Robert Friedman, former *Fortune*; William J. Holstein, business journalist/author

### WALEK & ASSOCIATES

#### BOB CONSIDINE AWARD

Ann Charters, Off-the-Record (Foreign Policy Association); Robert Dowling, Tsinghua University (Beijing); Dafna Linzer, ProPublica

### TIME MAGAZINE

#### ROBERT CAPA GOLD MEDAL AWARD

James Wellford, *Newsweek*; Elizabeth Biondi, *The New Yorker*; MaryAnne Golon, *Time*; David Griffin, *National Geographic*; Eliane Laffont, Hachette Filipacchi; Santiago Lyon, Associated Press; Veronica Matushaj, Human Rights Watch; Eugene Richards, photographer

### NEWSWEEK

#### OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD

James Wellford, *Newsweek*; Elizabeth Biondi, *The New Yorker*; MaryAnne Golon, *Time*; David Griffin, *National Geographic*; Eliane Laffont, Hachette Filipacchi; Santiago Lyon, Associated Press; Veronica Matushaj, Human Rights Watch; Eugene Richards, photographer; Aidan Sullivan, Getty Images

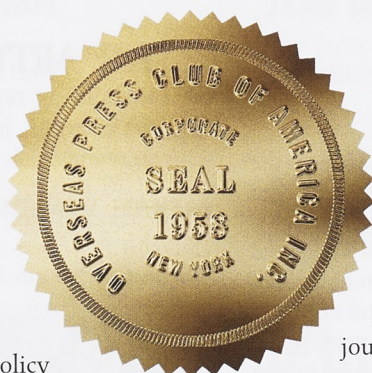
### THE COCA-COLA COMPANY

#### JOHN FABER AWARD

James Wellford, *Newsweek*; Elizabeth Biondi, *The New Yorker*; MaryAnne Golon, *Time*; David Griffin, *National Geographic*; Eliane Laffont, Hachette Filipacchi; Santiago Lyon, Associated Press; Veronica Matushaj, Human Rights Watch; Eugene Richards, photographer

#### CYMA RUBIN - BUSINESS OF ENTERTAINMENT FEATURE PHOTOGRAPHY

James Wellford, *Newsweek*; Elizabeth Biondi, *The New Yorker*; MaryAnne Golon, *Time*; David Griffin, *National Geographic*; Eliane Laffont, Hachette Filipacchi; Santiago Lyon, Associated Press; Veronica Matushaj, Human Rights Watch; Eugene Richards, photographer



### LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Arlene Getz, *Newsweek*; Jennifer Ha, Time Inc. Content Solutions; Sean O'Murchu, MSNBC.com

### VERIZON

#### DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

George de Lama, *Chicago Tribune*; Timothy McNulty, *Chicago Tribune*; Achy Obejas, journalist/novelist/educator

### CBS

#### EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

Patricia Kranz, *The New York Times*; Jacqueline Frank, independent film and broadcast producer; Marcus Mabry, *The New York Times*; Keith Richburg, *The Washington Post*

### FORD MOTOR COMPANY

#### ED CUNNINGHAM AWARD

John Corporon, WPIX (retired); Bill Dickinson, Louisiana State University; Sam Summerlin, The New York Times Syndicate

#### THOMAS NAST AWARD

Leah Nathans Spiro, McGraw-Hill Companies; Claudia Deutsch, *The New York Times*; John Elsen, *The New York Times*; Francesca Messina, Workman Publishing; Sheridan Prasso, *Fortune*

#### COMMUNICATIONS & NETWORK CONSULTING (CNC)

#### MORTON FRANK AWARD

Allan Dodds Frank, Bloomberg News; Walt Bogdanich, *The New York Times*; Richard Greenberg, Dateline NBC; Betsy Stark, ABC News

### FORBES MAGAZINE

#### MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

Marcy McGinnis, Stony Brook University; Allen Alter, CBS News; Karen Curry, ACLU

#### CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

Chris Power, *BusinessWeek*; Kerry Smith, ABC News; Robert Teitelman, *The Deal*



#### **MADELINE DANE ROSS FUND**

##### **MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD**

Tom Squitieri; formerly *USA Today*; John Diamond; author/journalist; Roy Gutman, McClatchy Newspapers; Fred Kempe, Atlantic Council; Victoria Pope, *National Geographic*

#### **A SUPPORTER OF THE OPC**

##### **CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD**

Alex Taylor, *Fortune*; Lisa Anderson, *Chicago Tribune*; Toni Reinhold, Reuters; Pam Yates, Skylight Pictures

#### **PHILIP DINE**

##### **JOE AND LAURIE DINE AWARD**

Calvin Sims, Ford Foundation; Steve Crawshaw, Human Rights Watch; Tala Dowlatshahi, Reporters Without Borders; Chris Hedges, journalist/author; Gideon Rose, *Foreign Affairs*

#### **AT&T**

##### **WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD**

Paul Holmes, Robinson Lerer & Montgomery; Irwin Arieff, journalist; Steven Cohen, The Earth Institute at Columbia University; Betsy Pisik, *Washington Times*

#### **PEOPLE EN ESPANOL**

##### **ROBERT SPIERS BENJAMIN AWARD**

Tom Trebat, Columbia Institute of Latin American Studies; John Dinges, Columbia Graduate School of Journalism; Pamela Falk, CBS News; Michele Wucker, World Policy Institute

#### **CFR.ORG (COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS)**

##### **WEBSITE AWARD**

Michael Moran; cfr.org (Council on Foreign Relations); Joan Connell, thenation.com; Gerry Holmes, ABC News – Nightline; Sree Sreenivasan, Columbia Graduate School of Journalism

#### **CBS**

##### **ARTYOM BOROVIK AWARD**

In Moscow: Svetlana Berdnikova, CBS; Alexsei Kuznetsov, CBS; Steve Gutterman, Associated Press

In New York: Jonathan Sanders, New Sandhouse Productions; Beth Knobel, former CBS Moscow bureau chief; Ann Cooper, Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism

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# MUSHARRAF CREATES A MEDIA MONSTER

In the nine years since he seized power, the general has fostered the growth of a vigorously independent group of private TV stations that have done their best to undermine his rule and restore democracy.

BY SHAHAN MUFTI

One evening in June 2007, during an oppressively hot summer in Islamabad, I attended a protest organized by Pakistani television journalists. A fiery stream lit Constitution Avenue—the broad thoroughfare is lined with the state's most powerful political institutions—as a torch-carrying procession marched past the Supreme Court building. The marchers chanted slogans against the military regime of Pervez Musharraf, vowing “endless war, till the media are freed.”

Some of the biggest names in Pakistani television were among the protestors, names known to nearly a third of the urban population in this country of 150 million. “Imagine if one of us showed up on air with a bruise tomorrow,” an anchor I recognized from a popular political talk show said, stopping next to me. He smiled smugly, and stepped over a listless tangle of barbed wire that had been flattened by the crowd. Islamabad police in full riot

gear lined both sides of the road, watching silently.

The protest that evening—there were several by journalists last year—began with rousing speeches outside the offices of Pakistan's most popular private television network, GEO-TV. (The name is a double entendre; the word *jeeo* also means “thrive” or “live long” in Urdu.) Journalists, mainly from broadcast media, and hundreds of their supporters were demonstrating against the sweeping restrictions introduced by Musharraf's government a few days earlier on all electronic media—basically FM radio and, particularly, the more than 60 private satellite television operations that have emerged in the last seven years as a popular but controversial alternative to state-run TV. The new laws restricted live coverage and gave unprecedented power to government regulators to seize private property and interrupt broadcasts deemed unacceptable.

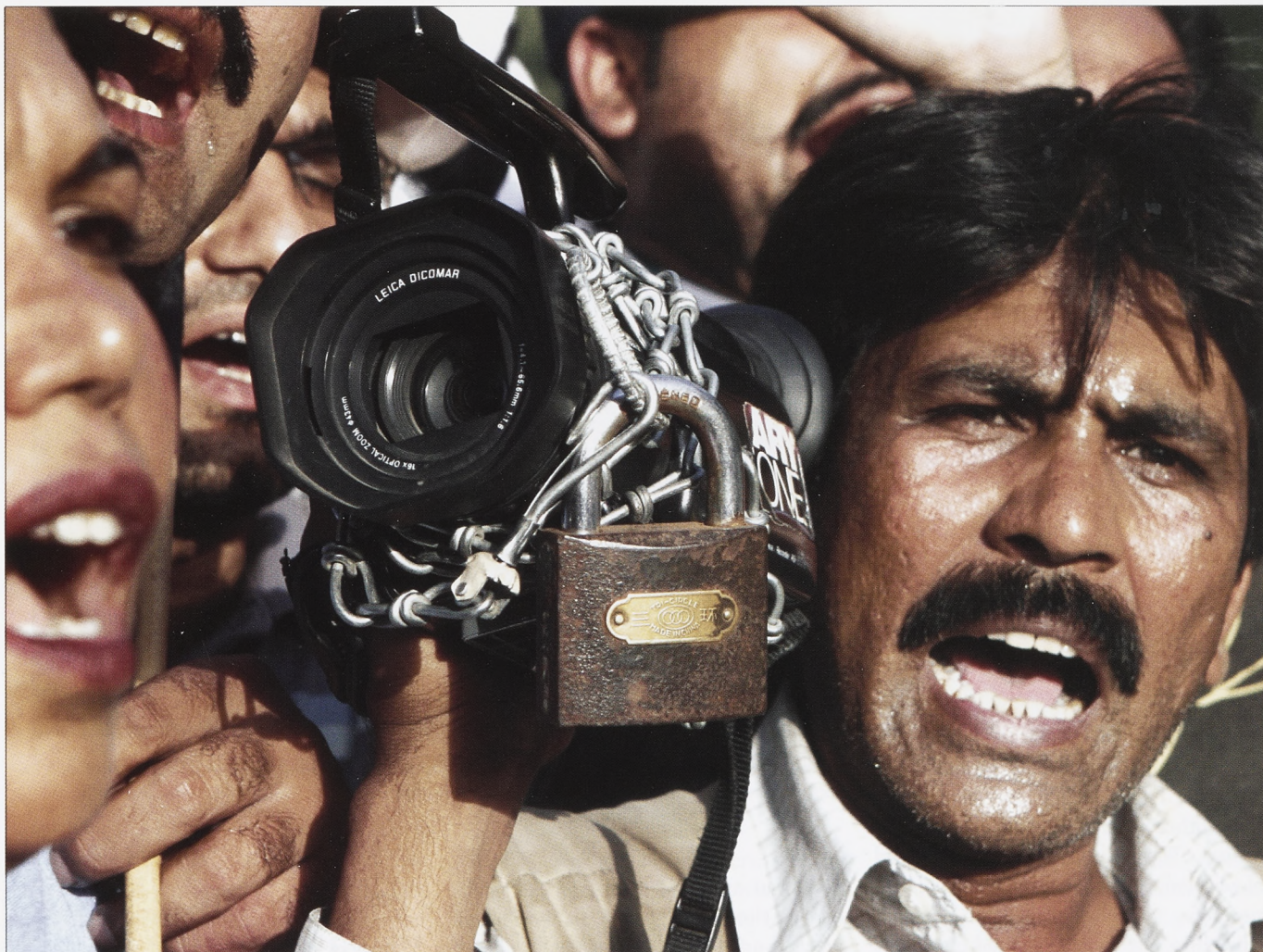
The crackdown had been long com-

ing. Three months earlier, in March, GEO-TV's offices were the scene of a defining moment for the journalists in Pakistan's independent television news business—when they got tangled with the story of political upheaval they were covering, and glimpsed their untapped potential as a force for political change.

On March 16, government security forces raided GEO's offices after the network crossed an unspecified “red line” by broadcasting live coverage of a rally for the chief justice of the Supreme Court, Iftikhar Muhammad Chaudhry, who had been dismissed by Musharraf the previous week. In recent years, Chaudhry had repeatedly embarrassed Musharraf by aggressively prosecuting government corruption, and the president wanted him out of the way. Chaudhry emerged as a hero for those seeking an end to military rule. The security forces broke into the GEO building, shattered windows with batons, fired tear gas, and roughed up the men

**The new laws restricted live coverage and gave unprecedented power to government regulators to seize private property and interrupt broadcasts deemed unacceptable.**





TV channel ARY One cameraman films a June 2007 protest in Lahore by his fellow journalists. AP PHOTO/K.M.CHAUDARY

and women inside, demanding that the coverage stop.

That day, Pakistanis were riveted to their television sets as Hamid Mir, GEO's Islamabad bureau chief and the best-known journalist on Pakistani television, waged his own live, on-air struggle against the police. Defying orders to stop transmission, Mir locked himself in the basement of the news-

camera for his live prime-time show. Pakistan's parliament, a creamy white colossus with the first article of Islam inscribed across the front, provided the backdrop. Mir announced a special guest for that evening's show, and a phone line crackled through to President Musharraf. "I would like to apologize," the pugnacious general said a few minutes into the interview, refer-

the beginning though. The subsequent year has seen the remaking of political power in Pakistan: a controversial reelection of Musharraf as President; his resignation as army chief; the rise and fall (and rise and fall again) of an independent judiciary; a military coup; the assassination of Pakistan's most prominent politician, Benazir Bhutto; and, to top it all off, a general election

## 'Imagine if one of us showed up on air with a bruise tomorrow'

room. From there he broadcast a minute-by-minute narration of what was happening. "They're attacking us with tear gas now," he yelled at one point, as the network beamed shaky, raw footage of the clash over its satellite feed.

Hours later, the raid now over and the security troops gone (GEO never stopped its coverage), Mir, wearing a sober blue suit, was leaning into the

ring to the raid. "Freedom of speech, freedom of expression, and the freedom of media, this is my mandate. I strongly condemn any violation of this."

It wasn't typical Musharraf, to say the least. The general has earned a reputation for never apologizing. But then, it is said that television is making the impossible happen in Pakistan every day. Going head to head with the supreme leader of the country was just

that wiped out Musharraf's loyalists earlier this year. The year would also be one of the most violent periods in the country's recent history.

The nascent independent television press found itself at the epicenter of all this. While it fought to win and retain its own freedoms, the scale of the events that it grappled with in its coverage challenged the very nature of its journalistic mission, raising questions about



# Dateline

what role this powerful new medium can and should play in Pakistan.

In the summer of 2007, as Pakistan turned 60, the country appeared to be fracturing along multiple fault lines, even as the promise of democracy hovered in the near distance. After eight years of cagey military rule, Musharraf found himself on unstable ground. The judiciary was in revolt; the various opposition movements had united against him; an armed rebellion against the state was festering in the capital at the Red Mosque; floods along the southern coast had displaced over 200,000 people; and the U.S.-led "war on terror" was knocking loudly along Pakistan's porous 1,600-mile border with Afghanistan. Sensing change in the harsh summer winds, or *loo*, everyone, it seemed, spilled onto the streets to stake their claim.

A few months after the raid on GEO last year, I met Hamid Mir at his top-floor office in the network's Islamabad offices. The political storm that had blown with the dismissal of the chief justice was still buffeting the country. Chaudhry had been reinstated only days before to a shower of rose petals and street celebrations across the country, and he had specifically and publicly thanked the "media fraternity," without whom, he said, the rebirth of the judiciary would have been impossible. But Mir was in no mood to celebrate. He had been kicked upstairs to a management job by the channel's bosses days after the ransacking of GEO, and found himself effectively removed from daily editorial decisions. He was frustrated. "What did we gain that day? What did I gain?" he said. "I've only lost more freedoms every day since. I can't even go live on air anymore!" The television media's struggle, Mir said, was just beginning.

Mir's understanding of journalism's role in society comes from Pakistan's rich tradition of an independent print press, which has jostled with four different military regimes since the country's birth in 1947. Old print hands, like Mir, recall with pride when papers like *Jang* would publish blank columns to expose and protest government censorship.



Television journalist Absar Alam. The poster names all the TV programs and personalities kept off the air when GEO TV was shut down for 79 days. TIM JOHNSON/MCT/LANDOV

But in a largely rural country with one of the lowest literacy rates in the world, print media has never been mass media. Newspapers sell mostly in urban centers, while in rural areas radio, and to a lesser extent state-run television (broadcast over a terrestrial network), are the main sources of news and information. With the Internet still available only to about 3 percent of Pakistanis, the influence of online journalism is negligible.

Until Musharraf came to power, there was no private satellite television in Pakistan. But now cable lines, carrying satellite television signals, are slowly creeping into even the most remote villages. A young documentary producer at Dawn News, the country's first 24-hour, English-language news channel, explained the significance of this: "They don't really have schools in interior Sindh," he said, referring to the most impoverished state in the country. "But now they have cable lines. So guess what? Now we're the ones educating all of them."

Pakistan remains one of the most dangerous places in the world for a journalist to work, yet in the nine

**'By shutting private media down, they thought they could control the political message.'**

years since Musharraf overthrew the democratically elected government of Nawaz Sharif in 1999, not only have newspapers maintained their independence, but Musharraf is credited, by critics and supporters alike, with fostering the growth of private broadcast media in the country.

Now, almost six years after the first private news channel went on air, the broadcast media are nipping at the regime that nurtured them, threatening to tear it down. Their coverage of the Chaudhry affair, as well as of Musharraf's increasingly vocal political opponents, set the broadcasters on a collision course with the president. Anti-Musharraf sentiment is boiling over in newsrooms at a time when his





Pakistani journalists at a November protest in Islamabad calling for release of arrested colleagues. XINHUA/LANDOV

rule has never seemed shakier. "A few years ago you could have said if it wasn't for Musharraf, private television wouldn't be where it is," Mir said. "Today there is no doubt, if it wasn't for private television, General Musharraf wouldn't be in the mess that he is in."

From the start, Musharraf promised a technologically advanced society with an open economy and media sector, including a free press. But this also meant that didactic, state-censored news would lose viewers to, among other things, a primetime interview show hosted by a charming and funny transvestite or a satire depicting a schizophrenic, slightly delusional leader who was a dead ringer for the real President. "Infotainment" became a winning formula, and GEO and a few other news outlets, like ARY-TV, AAJ-TV and Dawn News emerged as serious competitors for state-run Pakistan Television, particularly in urban centers. Today GEO has four 24-hour channels for entertainment, sports, news, and youth, and plans to launch an English-language news channel soon.

But institutions at the center of such profound social change are bound to get scuffed up. Long before the state sought

to tone down the broadcasters, satellite TV operations were being ransacked by sectarian mobs for attempting to cover religious conflict, by criminal networks for exposing them, by the powerful intelligence agencies for overstepping "national security" boundaries, and by religious militants for purveying vice. When Musharraf felt his pedestal wobble, the state became only the latest—albeit the most powerful—institution to lock horns with the broadcasters. Now, the boundaries within which this hungry new medium must operate are being negotiated in the streets, the newsrooms, the courtrooms, and the corridors of power.

The Pakistan Electronic Media Regulatory Authority, or Pemra, based in Islamabad, is the government's central command in the battle with the broadcast media. It was established in 2002 before the first satellite channel took to the airwaves and is responsible for issuing licenses to all private radio and television channels, and to regulate them by setting the norms for content. "The emphasis," a journalist in Islamabad warned, "is on 'authority,' not as much on 'regulation.'" In 2005 President Musharraf handpicked the coun-

try's top-cop, Iftikhar Rashid, to head Pemra. Rashid, an accomplished and decorated police official, had a reputation for establishing strict order wherever he went.

"The President realized there was a massive problem with enforcement," Rashid tells me from behind a gleaming wooden desk in Pemra's head office, blocks from GEO's studios. When he took over, Rashid explains, 80% of all channels showing on cable were illegal or unlicensed, and about the same percentage of cable operators were unregistered. He would receive complaints of pornography being shown on TV in the middle of the day. A clean up was in order, but Rashid says the president also gave him another important assignment: to liaison with the broadcasters and establish a code of conduct by which the new medium would operate.

Pemra Ordinance 2007, the new laws introduced by the president that journalists were protesting last summer, were an aggressive attempt at this. They restricted live coverage and gave sweeping powers to Pemra to seize property and interrupt broadcasts. The ordinance also brought the authority, which had been an au-





Karachi journalists protest media curbs during emergency rule in November. Over 100 were arrested and four injured.  
REUTERS/ATHAR HUSSAIN/LANDOV

onomous watchdog, under a government ministry. Following the uproar by journalists (media owners were largely silent), Rashid offered to put the laws in cold storage. He suggested to the Pakistan Broadcasters Association that they come up with a "voluntary code of conduct" that could replace the ordinance. If the media would police itself, Rashid says like a seasoned law enforcer, there would be no policing left to do.

Some in the industry, like Shakeel Masood, the CEO of Dawn TV, sensed this as an opportunity. "Of course the government would like a dictate," Masood said. "'Here, you can talk about this, you can't talk about that.' But having this code is part of becoming a mature media." Even though the suspended Pemra ordinance and approximately \$20 million in purported government election advertising was held like a gun to the media's temple through the negotiations, Masood was hopeful. "It'll be something permanent but we need to get it done before the elections," he said at the time. The media couldn't afford to have this unset-

tled, he said, while covering what might be the most important election in the country's history.

Even as negotiations over the code of conduct proceeded, television's honeymoon with the military came to an ugly end. On the evening of Nov. 4, Pakistanis found all satellite news channels suddenly taken off the air. President Musharraf had finally declared a "state of emergency"—effectively a military coup against his own government—days before the Supreme Court was expected to rule against his eligibility to stay in power. The ruling would have tipped the institutional balance of power against the military for the first time in the country's history. Preempting this, the General crushed the judiciary, firing a majority of its judges, and placing Chief Justice Chaudhry under house arrest again. The parliament stayed in place, as did the civil bureaucracy and the police forces. The only other institution targeted was the broadcast media.

But it wasn't going to be easy to tame the monster Musharraf himself had created. Protests erupted immedi-

ately across the country with people—journalists and the public who had come to depend on them—demanding the return of independent TV news channels as well as the reinstatement of the Supreme Court judges. GEO's orange, blue and white logo became a badge of resistance and the channel's popular faces, including Hamid Mir, took their show on the road and continued taping their programs in front of live audiences at protest rallies attended by hundreds, sometimes thousands. "Endless war till the media are freed," they chanted.

"By shutting private media down, they thought they could control the political message," said Adnan Rehmat, the Pakistan country director for Internews, a media advocacy and watchdog group based in Washington, D.C., a few days after the declaration of emergency. "But this just isn't sustainable," he said. The government was just digging its own grave by cultivating a "credibility deficit."

This credibility gap manifested itself in a general air of uncertainty. With no real credible source of information



available anymore, rumors replaced news. One morning, a few days after the coup, rumors of a counter coup against Musharraf became so rampant that the President had to publicly deny them. "People have become very used to knowing," explained Rehmat. "You can't just take that away from them. It won't work."

Rehmat was right. The sacking of the judiciary and the gagging of the media made a struggling regime even less popular. Within a few weeks the state began loosening its grip and the TV channels started coming back on the air one by one. The ban still lasted much longer than most people expected and was an important victory for Musharraf. The channels came back on air only after signing on the dreaded dotted line: A code of conduct typed out at Pemra offices.

After the emergency Pemra had caught the broadcasters at their weakest. The financial cost of being off-air was simply too much for some smaller outfits to bear. GEO held out the longest but it also had to return, compromised, a few weeks after the assassination of Benazir Bhutto, which pushed back the election to February 2008. Under rules that were never publicly disclosed, Hamid Mir and a handful of other journalists were banned from appearing on air and any discussion of the dismissed judges was off limits. No criticism of the armed forces or the President was allowed.

Bruised and battered, the channels returned with only days left before what many were calling the most important election in the country's history. All this happened as major cities and towns were under a barrage of suicide bombings. Everyone, not just the broadcasters, looked to the elections, hoping this time democracy would work.

Looking out his office window onto Constitution Avenue a few months before the elections, Hamid Mir seemed pensive. The prospect of a return of democracy brought back memories for him, not all of them good. He lost his job at the *Jang* newspaper in the mid-

1990s, thanks to then-Prime Minister Bhutto, the day after he broke the news that a contract to purchase submarines had allegedly made Bhutto's family \$120 million richer. A few years later he lost his job again under the democratic rule of Nawaz Sharif, for exposing more government corruption. "But we have to, for our own sake, strengthen democracy," he said, his thick expressive eyebrows rising. "We can't survive without a strong parliament and without a strong judiciary. We can't be at the mercy of one man. It's our prime responsibility—we do have a watchdog role."

Thanks in part to this bruised self-styled watchdog, Pakistan held a peaceful election in February. Most international observers judged it fair and the mood was celebratory in newsrooms and the living rooms they were broadcasting into. Musharraf's power in the legislature had been wiped out. The big winners, Nawaz Sharif and Bhutto widower Asif Zardari, made a point to thank the media for its role in helping in the return of democracy. But for now the television channels appeared uninterested in forging any political alliances. It seems they are throwing their chips in elsewhere.

The day after the election GEO-TV began running a public service message on the hour. A voice, over sepia images of ordinary Pakistanis casting votes, congratulated the nation and the elected leaders on the peaceful election process. Then the voiceover addressed the two victorious leaders, notorious for their corruption and scandal:

"The nation has trusted you now. You are the ones who have to bear the burden of these expectations. So promise that justice for all will be your first priority. Even if the law finds you guilty of crimes in the process. Promise that corruption will be eradicated at every cost, even if the focus falls on you."

A long list of demands for justice and fair play followed, with this final note: "Promise that media will be given the freedom to inform the public and bring opposing points of views to

## The new laws restricted live coverage and gave sweeping powers to Pemra to seize property and interrupt broadcasts.

them, so that the people can know how their mandate is being put to work... because the nation has elected you for this. This is what they expect of you. Live up to this and *jeeo*."

Pakistan's television news media have managed to emerge as a deeply flawed but essential pillar of whatever kind of democracy Pakistan ultimately embraces. But it is difficult to say precisely where this pillar will stand in relation to the others, or at whose expense its power will grow. The journalists at these news operations continue to struggle with pressures—both internal and external—to use their power in support of someone else's agenda, whether the judiciary's, the opposition's, or the state's.

None of these established political institutions have ever really faithfully represented the people of Pakistan though. Now, the news media has emerged as one powerful institution that seems most interested in becoming a vanguard for ordinary Pakistanis' struggle for democracy and fair play. It's hard to say what Pakistan's young TV news media will grow into, but if it manages to find the right balance, the real winners might just be the people of Pakistan. ■

*Shahan Mufti is a freelance writer based in New York who travels frequently to Pakistan. This article is adapted, with permission, from a story first published in the November/December 2007 edition of the Columbia Journalism Review.*



# LET THE GAMES BEGIN

BY KEVIN MCDERMOTT



Shortly after China was picked to host the 2008 summer Olympics there was optimism that, by seeking an international spotlight, the country's ruling interests would be compelled to open up to journalists, Chinese journalists especially. Nothing like that happened. With the games just months away one is left with the impression that in our age the characteristics of a great nation need not include free expression.

Typical of the OPC's press freedom

committee's interaction with China was our exchange with President Hu Jintao last March. We were heartened to hear of Hu's personal intervention in the non-investigation of murdered journalist Lan Chenzhang. (Direct intervention of the chief executive in the local judiciary is not something we endorse, but that is another subject.) Lan was beaten to death the preceding January after publishing an investigation of dangerous illegalities at coal mines in Shanxi province. After an outcry from among others the Overseas Press Club of

America Hu provoked the arrest of nine local men, including the owner of the mines.

But at almost exactly the same time Zhang Jianhong, a freelance writer and founder of the literary Website Aiqinghai, was being sentenced in a court in Ningbo to six years in prison for "illegally publishing news" and "incitement to subvert the state's authority" for calling for political reform in articles posted online.

By summer, as plans were completed for the 2008 Olympics, a full-blown

ABOVE: A plainclothes officer blocks a photographer from shooting police questioning journalists who were observing an August protest by Reporters Without Borders near the headquarters of the Olympic planning committee in Beijing. AP PHOTO/NG HAN GUAN





Police push journalists covering the Reporters Without Borders demonstration, which protested Beijing's failure to keep promises of more press freedom in advance of the Games. AP PHOTO/NG HAN GUAN

crackdown on homegrown Chinese journalists and writers by local authorities seemed to be underway—even as the central government was declaring its intention to make it easy for foreign journalists to travel freely in order to report a full picture of China to the world.

Choosing at random three cases followed actively by the press freedom committee, in May police in Nanjing arrested online journalist, Sun Lin, and his wife, He Fang, charging them with illegally possessing weapons and heading a criminal gang. (No evidence was presented.) In June three editors at the *Chengdu Wanbao* daily were dismissed

for allowing a one-line ad to appear which paid tribute to the mothers of the victims of the Tiananmen Square massacre. In August, Lü Gengsong was arrested on a charge of "inciting subversion of state power." Lü had a long record of reporting on corruption, illegal land expropriation, organized crime and human-rights abuses. In response, more than 1,000 writers and activists in China signed a petition demanding Lü's release. He remains imprisoned.

As 2007 closed China led the world in the number of jailed journalists. At last count twenty nine Chinese reporters and editors sit behind bars because of their work. It's a shameful

record of human rights abuse, and one to contemplate as the games begin.

#### ASIA

For years Sri Lanka has intermittently been a more or less hostile place to practice journalism. But since the election of President Mahinda Rajapaksa in 2005 conditions for reporters and editors have sunk to a level not seen since the late 1990s. Among the worst offenders has been Sri Lanka's military. One example is Maunasami Parameswaree, a Tamil reporter for the weekly, *Mawbima*. Parameswaree has a solid reputation as a critic of human rights abuse by both the Sri Lankan

With the Games just months away one is left with the impression that in our age the characteristics of a great nation need not include free expression.



# Dateline

military and the Tamil Tiger guerillas in Sri Lanka's unending civil war. In November, 2006, she was arrested as a "terrorist" while on her way to interview a woman whose son had been abducted. No evidence of ties to the Tamil rebels was ever produced.

The arrest of Parameswaree was, in the words of the press freedom committee, "only one of many instances of offenses committed against the press with impunity." The most bizarre case was that of Minister for Transport, A.H.M. Fowzie, who threatened to break the limbs of a senior journalist, M.A.M. Nilam, for publishing a report of corruption on the part of the minister and his son in organizing a pil-

The funeral of Serge Maheshe in Bukavu, Democratic Republic of the Congo. Maheshe, who ran a U.N. sponsored radio station called Okapi, was shot dead in June.

AFP PHOTO/MONUC



Russian chess-champion-turned-politician Garry Kasparov talks to the press after presenting a petition to the Central Election Commission in advance of March presidential elections, which the petition called a "farce." SIPA VIA AP IMAGES





grimage. But the most ingenious of the central government's actions against the press was the embargo of newsprint and ink by sea to Jaffna,

**A paradox that became more pronounced around the world in 2007 was the decline of press freedom under democratically elected governments.**

forcing several newspapers there to the brink of dissolution.

"The reaction of your government to any criticism or controversy," the committee told President Rajapaksa, "appears to be a reflex for clamping down hard on the press in Sri Lanka.

This is contrary to all the principles of democracy and human rights. It creates, inevitably, an atmosphere in which suspicion, hate and rumors make peace and reconciliation in Sri Lanka all the harder to achieve." Encouragingly, during a three-day visit in May, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Boucher publicly identified attacks on Sri Lankan journalists as an area of concern to the United States.

In addition, the Club took up the cases of colleagues in Bangladesh, China, Fiji, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, Philippines and Republic of Korea.

**AFRICA**

A paradox that became more pronounced around the world in 2007 was the decline of press freedom under democratically elected governments. An example of this trend in Africa is the Democratic Republic of Congo.

In November, the press freedom committee used the visit of DRC Pres-

ident Joseph Kabila to draw attention to half a dozen cases of reporters and editors in real danger. We cited a fresh instance from late October, when Sylvain Ngabu, Minister of Higher Education, invited two journalists of Horizon 33 (a private TV station) to his office, where he then ordered five police officers to assault them.

Throughout the year, we told Kabila, "repression and violence against journalists have grown to appalling proportions." It is liberty, we reminded the president, "which guards the democratic values you espouse."

The press freedom committee was also active in support of journalists in Chad, Guinea-Bissau, Malawi, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda and Zimbabwe.

**EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA**

Coincident with the ascendancy of Vladimir Putin, the Club's press freedom committee is in nearly monthly communication with Moscow. Concern



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for Russia only accelerated as this winter's presidential election approached.

Ahead of December's parliamentary elections, journalists covering opposition candidates found themselves the targets of abuse. One example among many: Nikolai Andrushchenko, a co-founder and an editor of the weekly *Novy Peterburg*, sentenced on November 24th to two months of pre-trial detention on charges of defamation and obstruction of justice. Ostensibly, the charges stemmed from Andrushchenko's coverage in 2006 of a murder investigation and trial in St. Petersburg. But his colleagues at *Novy Peterburg* say his persecution and imprisonment were retaliation for the paper's critical coverage of local authorities and its pro-opposition articles. The day before Andrushchenko was sentenced, St. Petersburg police raided *Novy Peterburg*'s newsroom and copied files from computers.

That same day three journalists from Moscow's REN-TV—Karen Sakhinov, Artem Vysotsky and Stanislav Goryachikh—were accompanying the head of the human-rights organization Memorial to a demonstration against a recent wave of murders, abductions and disappearances in Ingushetia. Armed men in masks stormed their hotel and abducted all four. They were driven to the border with Chechnya and beaten so brutally that two had to be hospitalized. The assailants told the victims to leave Ingushetia before abandoning them. Two telling facts: the assailants spoke Russian without an accent and the hotel's security staff left 30 minutes before the attack.

Five days later, outside the General Directorate for Internal Affairs in Moscow, three journalists were arrested while covering a rally in support of Garry Kasparov, a leader of the Other Russia opposition platform.

Riot police detain journalists during an April 2007 march in Moscow to protest President Vladimir Putin's crackdown on press freedom.

AP PHOTO/SERGEY PONOMAREV



A year-long list of such intimidation, the committee told Putin, "suggests that you are determined to demonstrate that you will tolerate no opposition, even the most ineffectual."

In 2007 the committee was also active on behalf of reporters and editors in Azerbaijan, Finland, France, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyz Republic, Turkey and Ukraine.

### **THE MIDDLE EAST & NORTH AFRICA**

The situation of the media in Iraq inevitably absorbed the majority of the press freedom committee's attention in 2007. But, as it has for several years, the committee continued to monitor Eritrea, which not very long ago was a moderately democratic nation. By last year, Reporters Without Borders had dubbed the country the largest prison for journalists on the African continent.

There is now only one newspaper in this nation of over four million, the government-owned *Hadas Eritrea*. In common with several other countries where respect for free expression has taken a turn for the worse, Eritrea explains the brutal treatment of its national press as part of a war on terror.

For example, shortly after the government suppressed all independent media in September 18, 2001, fourteen Eritrean journalists were imprisoned simultaneously. They were publicly accused of treason and violating the press law but have never been formally charged. According to reports, they are now being held incommunicado somewhere outside of Asmara. Rumors of their torture have been widely reported, as well as a report that one has died under unexplained circumstances.

The case of Dawit Isaak has attracted particular attention. Isaak, a reporter for and part owner of the independent Setit, has been a prisoner since 2001. The Swedish government protests that Isaak is a Swedish citizen, and urges his release. The government of President Isaias Aswerki insists that Isaak has dual citizenship and is subject only to Eritrean justice. Reports that he has been tortured have been denied.

### **NORTH AMERICA**

In Mexico last year a disturbing element of official misconduct was added to the violent behavior of drug lords toward troublesome journalists. But, as it has been for the past several years, the committee was also in frequent communication with Washington in 2007.

A repeating theme of these exchanges has been the prosecution of the war in Iraq, where stories of outright hostility to media have been common since the fighting began five years ago.

In a communication with Defense Secretary Robert Gates, for instance, we noted that of more than 150 journalists and more than 100 media support staff killed in Iraq since March, 2003, 17 died by fire from U.S. troops, citing data from the Committee to Protect Journalists. The International Federation of Journalists has concluded that many of these incidents were targeted attacks that have gone uninvestigated and unpunished.

Making the obvious observation that this record does damage to America's moral authority and its announced ambition to spread respect for the rule of law, we insisted to Secretary Gates that he order U.S. commanders in Iraq to assure "the safety of journalists risking their lives daily to provide the full and fair account of the conflict that Americans, Iraqis and a watching world demand and deserve."

### **SOUTH AMERICA**

The progress of press freedom in South America has been erratic but not entirely without good news. The vivid exception remains Venezuela.

Soon after winning reelection last year the government of President Hugo Chavez pulled the license of RCTV, a pioneering Venezuelan TV channel, several years ahead of its legal expiration date. The list of such transparent abuses is long and well known, which was why the committee reacted with great surprise to a visit to Chavez by actor Sean Penn in August.

In a letter to Penn, we deplored his willingness to let a dictator-in-the-making like Hugo Chavez parade him

**A repeating theme of these exchanges has been the prosecution of the war in Iraq, where stories of outright hostility to media have been common since the fighting began five years ago.**

before the world as a friend and ally. Drawing particular attention to the death of RCTV, we documented a climate of open hostility to an independent press in Venezuela fostered by the president.

"Actual mob violence in some cases and the unexplained murders of five journalists," we told the actor, "have all contributed to an atmosphere that has intimidated the Venezuelan press and caused some to tone down any criticism of the president. Do you really want to use your fame and reputation to further the cause of such a man?"

Penn responded to criticism of his Venezuela trip by pointing out that Hugo Chavez was elected and cannot, therefore, be a dictator.

In 2007 the committee also worked on behalf of journalists in Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti and Peru. ■

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*Kevin McDermott, the founder of Collective Intelligence, is co-chairman of the OPC's press-freedom committee together with Larry Martz and Norman Schorr. Other members of the committee include David Alpern, George Bookman, Bill Collins, Tala Dowlatshahi, Robert Dowling, Dorinda Elliott, Jeremy Main, John Martin, Jacqueline Simon and Minky Worden.*



## WITNESSES TO WAR

BY MIKE HOYT

Earlier this year, around a nighttime fire at Joint Security Station Tarmiya, near Baghdad, a young soldier turned to Paul McLeary, then a reporter for my magazine, *Columbia Journalism Review*, and said, "Man, you must be making a lot of money to be here." Paul told him that he would get the same paycheck walking around Iraq as he would sitting at his desk in New York, and that it wasn't an impressive amount anyway, as reporters don't make much. The soldier was surprised, and he wasn't the first to make the same assumption. In the month McLeary spent embedded with infantry units in Iraq, half a dozen soldiers asked him about the big combat money he was presumably getting. When they found out the humble truth they had a question: Why are you here?

It's a good question. Later in the article in which he described this exchange, McLeary suggests at least part of the answer. When several other soldiers asked him if it takes multiple college degrees to become a news reporter, McLeary told them no. All it takes is curiosity, he said, and the desire to try to understand things and explain them.

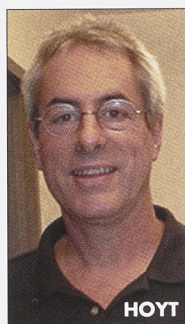
In the run-up to the war, the American press corps on the whole fell repeatedly for lies about weapons of mass destruction planted by schemers who wanted a U.S.-led regime change, and it failed miserably to challenge the lack of post-invasion planning. But once the war began, hundreds of reporters did admirable, nuanced and gutsy work. The Left clamors for more stories about the impact of the occupation on civilians, and the Right for more about the difficult and sometimes successful work that soldiers do. But on the whole the war correspondents in Iraq have for five years been painting a clear

picture for their readers and viewers of incredibly complex developments, and doing so at enormous risk. Like the soldier at the fire, you sometimes wonder why.

I had dinner not long ago with a former *Boston Globe* reporter and her father, an old CBS News hand, and he spoke about his dual emotions on the day his daughter called him on a satellite phone as she was rolling into Iraq. He was terrified, of course, not only about the physical danger to his daughter, but about the effect on her of what she would soon see. But there was another emotion too: jealousy. His daughter would witness history in a hurry, fascinating events of great drama and import. He would read about it; she would be there.

Still, curiosity and adventure can't be the whole story. One hundred twenty-seven journalists and some 50 media support workers have died in Iraq, and others have suffered in unseen ways. The majority of those killed have been Iraqis, who have their own drive to report their nation's fate.

Many Western reporters also have an investment in the drama, and a fierce drive to learn more and to see how the story ends. Anne Garrels of National Public Radio put it this way: "So that's why I keep going back, because the more you know, the more you know. When I think about how little I knew to start with, it seems a shame to give up now, when I actually know something and know better questions to ask." She went on: "On the other hand, you have to ask yourself, Am I getting a little bit nutty?" She says this in *Reporting Iraq*, CJR's *Oral History of the Journalism of the War*, published last fall. She also frankly describes some of



the effects of what sounds like post-traumatic stress, particularly from her coverage of the November 2004 battle for control of Fallujah.

Such courage is not always appreciated. In the book, Dexter Filkins of *The New York Times* recalls his own time in Fallujah.

A quarter of the marine unit he was embedded with for eight days was killed or wounded, "an absolute bloodbath." During a lull in the fighting he was able to hook up his satellite phone and download into his laptop, and up popped emails from readers in the U.S. telling him how off-base his reports were. "How would someone in Minnesota who is looking at their computer screen...." He let the question hang in the air.

Judea Pearl, the father of Daniel Pearl, murdered in Pakistan nearly six and a half years ago, compares journalists to modern day prophets. A reporter serves "as the moral compass of society and, like the ancient prophets, risks his or her life," he says. You understand where Pearl is coming from, given what happened to his reporter son, but it seems a bit much to me. I can't imagine any journalist I know standing still for being labeled a prophet. A witness, maybe. Reporters bear witness. And the world often resists the message of its witnesses just as it used to resist its prophets. Right now it seems increasingly reluctant to even employ them, with foreign coverage in general dropping off, and Iraq coverage in particular. But they are willing to go. ■

Mike Hoyt is executive editor of the *Columbia Journalism Review*, and co-editor of *Reporting Iraq: An Oral History of the War by the Journalists Who Covered It*, published by Melville House in October.



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